593 handling the potential conflict between father and son and the successive generations which they represent; these are mechanisms which preclude intimacy between the father and the son. The social statuses of father and son are not 593 852 permitted to overlap by their being participants in, or 585 even present at, festive occasions, such as circumcision [831] and wedding parties, occasions which are marked by erotic poems and lewd songs. It would be "wrong" for a father to accompany his son to one of these parties. In the one instance that I did observe a father and son together at a wedding party, the Bedouins explained the rare occurrence by pointing out that this was the man's only son, and so he treated him "like a brother."

593 866 The Bedouins of al-Qasr recognize the aloofness of the father from the son and justify it as a training period to prepare the boy for the time when he will be on his own. One young man explained the underlying rationale of the father-son relationship in this way:

> There are different kinds of fathers. One wishes to make his son a man, to make his son self-dependent at an early age. Other fathers destroy the personalities of their sons. For instance, the first type of father gives his son the responsibility of selling something, or buying something, or of supervising a chore in his own place. But the second type of father is usually soft with his son; he doesn't depend on his son due to his young age. He is very cautious with him and will not send him anywhere, and if he does he will ask someone to look after him. Of course, the first type of father is good and the second type is bad.

585 178 Only one of the three weddings was conducted in the traditional way with three nights of dancing previous to the wedding and a large feast on the wedding day. The Bedouin say that a man can no longer afford to do things the old way. 584 The procedure of the marriage arrangement begins when the boy informs his uncle that he wishes to marry. Then the uncle, [583] the father and other males of the group meet with the father of the prospective bride to arrange the marriage, an important part of which is the establishment of the brideprice (hulwaan or mahr). 584 * 613 Before going to see the girl's father, the boy's father consults with his secondary lineage group, as I have already mentioned. Then he should wait for a period of seven days, for the girl's father, "who has heard about the marriage," must consult with his group and wait for a period of one week during which time any member of the girl's 584 lineage may claim her. After this time, the ties proposed [695] by the marriage are ritualized by two preliminary acts: the writing of the contract (ma'azuum) between the fathers, and the offering of a lamb by the groom which solemnizes his intentions and the marriage (dabah fi-l-williyya). [431] After another waiting period of about two weeks, during which time the boy buys gifts of clothing and jewelry and presents them to the girl at her home, the wedding celebration begins. 585 On the day of the wedding, the girl is delivered to the groom's residence. The girl remains in the groom's tent, or

585 room, until he arrives for the test of her virginity. The groom "takes blood with his finger," wipes it on the white toga which his bride had been veiled with, and hands it to the older women waiting outside the tent. In the meantime, [792] the two fathers have met with the faqiih ("holy man") who [675] witnesses the agreement on the mahr payment. They read the Fatiha of the Quran together and conclude the marriage contract. The old women, carrying the toga with the virginal blood on it--a symbol of honor to both of the groups concerned with the marriage--parade around the guests' tent showing it, while all the time letting out shrill victory cries (zaghaariid = "trilling cries of joy"). The toga is then pinned-up on the side of the guests' tent for all to 585 see. Animals are slaughtered and the feast begins. The 574 central activity of the feast takes place in the guests' tent, the tent of the male guests. The groom's father, in [576] the traditional role of host, does not sit down to eat with his guests but directs the seating and feeding of them.

585 Should it happen that the girl is not a virgin, the 684 wedding would end on the spot, and the girl would be sent away or killed by her father. My informants said that this has never happened in al-Qasr. One key informant told me that such a thing never happens because the groom would never permit it to be known that "his cousin was not a virgin." In other words, the groom will get the blood from somewhere,

585 [684] probably by pricking himself, and will wipe it on the toga.

585 606 [574] About two weeks after the wedding, the bride and groom take a lamb or a goat and go to spend a few days with the bride's parents. The Bedouin say that the relationship between the groom and his in-laws is extremely important. The man should treat his wife's mother and father as if they were his own. "When a man's father-in-law and mother-in-law come to visit him, he must slaughter a lamb for them. He must respect both of them. Remember, this man and woman are the grandparents of his children."

585 671 182 [574] [431] [782] *[613] The marriage, then, is only the first step in the ritualization of new group bonds established between the families of the bride and groom. Bonds are subsequently intensified through a process of visitation, gift-exchange and sacrifice. The most important factor linking the two groups is the actual presence of the bride in the midst of her husband's group, for she remains, in terms of the patrilineal principle, a member of her father's lineage. This is made perfectly clear by the fact that she is referred to, never by her name but, by the name of her tribal grouping if she is other than 'Aishaibi. If she is of the 'Aishaibat tribe, she will be referred to as <u>bint</u> of so-and-so. Hence the Bedouins stress the importance of extra-group bonds by referring to the women in their residence group as al-Qinaishiyya or al-Kamailiyya, for instance (-iyya is the Arabic feminine marker).

585 *613 551 571 182 [193]

182 marker).

*613 551 571 •[585] In al-Qasr, if a man's mother is 'Aishaibiiya, he will refer to her as ummi ("my mother"): if she is otherwise, he will refer to her by the tribal tag, i.e. al-Qinaishiyya. A man will also add the name of his mother's tribe, to identify himself with the tribe and to symbolize tribal links, as an appendage to his own full name. The use of the maternal appendage by an individual links him to his mother's tribe through the idea of what Peters (1960:29) has called "the concept of the one womb of maternal origin."

In the case of al-Qasr, this maternal appendage refers to links with the mother's tribe at the primary level (see Figure 9). For instance, two brothers of the Bait Abd al-Malik might wish to differentiate between their maternal origins for some reason or other; one would refer to himself as Yunis Abd al-Malik al-Kamailiyya and, the other as Jabril Abd al-Malik al-Qinaishiyya. This is shown in Figure 9, page 125.

*613 604 [182] Although a person is obviously related to the mother's tribe through the mother, this matrilateral structural relationship is expressed as one between the individual and his mother's brother's tribe. The set of relationships surrounding the sister's son-mother's brother dyad is central to Bedouin political organization; it is the basis for the formation of relations of alliance along cognatic lines.

554 It would be considered "wrong" for the members of
571 this group to present themselves at an al-Qasr wedding party,
[579] or the annual celebration held in honor of a local saint of
[585] the area. When I inquired about the conspicuous absence of
[796] some of my chief informants from such gatherings, I was told
[124] that "they will send their gifts," or that "it is not decent
[431] that they come to something such as this." In terms of
554 Bedouin social structure, there are a number of plausible
571 explanations for this "status separation." Fathers should
182 not attend public affairs at which their sons may be "per-
561 forming," i.e., young men should be allowed to play a public
[593] role outside the confines of the father-son authority structure. By virtue of the extension of the father role, and its corresponding authoritarian attitude, every member of the elder age-set commands certain rights and obligations which would prevent the free expression that is the hallmark of Bedouin parties. Conversely, and at the more general level, members of the "status group" who wish to remain members of this circle accept certain restrictions on social
[114] intercourse. At the five different Bedouin "parties" which I attended, there were "elders" present, but none of them could be classified as members of the "status group." Bedouins plainly state that elders should not attend parties, but, on the other hand, they show much more concern and emotion when they say that a member of the "status group" should not "be

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE: A CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIP

593 578 A survey of all disputes occurring among the eilat Aggary in the last five years shows that more than 70% were disputes over "women," the usual phrase referring to cases involving marital relations. Disagreement over matters arising out of quarrels between husband and wife or between one of the spouses and his or her in-laws often constitute the basis for these disputes. What seems to make marriage and the family particularly productive of conflict is the fact that although residence is commonly virilocal, and the majority of the women leaving their own families to live with the husband, the woman retains her membership in her father's family after the marriage, and her agnatic group keeps an active interest in her, even after she is married. Marriage then brings face to face the interests of two groups. These interests affect the relationship between the married couple; and, more importantly, the relationship between the latter affects the interests of their respective groups. This, in many instances, leads to direct conflict between the two groups.

593 578 602 613 [591]

581 671 The position of the Awlad Ali daraieb with regard to marriage relations is based on the Islamic law with minor modifications to suit the requirements of local life. According to the Muslim law, marriage is a civil contract affected by the request of one party and the agreement of the other. No witnesses are needed for the legalization of the marriage, according to some of the Shi'a sects, although the Sunni schools of Muslim jurisprudence insist that two adult male and two adult females

585 675

581 are necessary for the validation of the marriage contract. Modern
585 legal systems which took as their basis the Islamic law of marriage
671
675 and the family further required the registration of the marriage contract for the marriage to be legal.

584 The request and necessary response forming the marriage are sup-
585 posed to be carried on by the parties involved. However, if either the
429 groom or the bride is not of age, or is mentally unqualified, the trans-
593 action is carried on by his or her guardian, or "wakil." The wakil is the father, unless he is dead or an invalid, in which case the brothers
[604] become the wakils. If the person has no brothers, then the uncles be-
[184] come the wakil in the order stated. According to certain Sunni sects in Islam, a woman marrying for the first time is always represented by her wakil, even if she is of age. The assumption is that a woman who has never been married does not have the experience that enables her to enter into any kind of legally binding relationship such as marriage.

585 Following the original Islamic idea, marriage among Awlad Ali is
675 an oral agreement between the groom or his father and the guardian
593
429 (wakil) of the bride-to-be (her father, if alive, or her closest male
[604] kin in the following order: her brothers, her uncles, her grandfather).
585 A religious man is sometimes asked to perform the marriage, although it
792 is not required. Some persons might invite a member of the Murabiteen
[619] tribe or holy men to witness the marriage on the basis that his presence
[718] gives "baraka," or blessing, to the marriage. Before the application of
585 the State legal system to the area, marriage contracts were not regis-
656
177 tered. In recent years, however, and with the increased mobility of
675 the tribal populations, more and more marriages are being registered in
[634] the administrative districts. Still, according to the unofficial estimates,

Still, according to the unofficial estimates, only about ten per cent of all marriages are registered, and these are mainly mixed marriages involving a tribal person and a non-tribal one or a tribal member who is not living in the area anymore. The reason is that such a spouse, especially when he is the husband, is not under the control of the tribal customs and therefore cannot be forced to fulfill his obligations if he fails to do so. Most of the tribal population still feel that marriage is a personal and family affair that should be kept away from the State legal system.

Marriage among Awlad Ali is a relatively informal procedure. When a man decides to marry a certain girl, he informs his mother who, in turn, informs his father. The father may have objections to his son's choice of the bride. Such objections may be based on already strained relations between the two families or the questionable reputation of the girl or any member of her family. In such cases, the father tries to dissuade his son from going ahead with the marriage. The father is usually successful in controlling his son's choice when the latter is dependent on his father for the payment of the bridewealth called "mahr" and for the support of his new household. This is usually the case in the man's first marriage. In subsequent marriages and in the cases where the son has independent means of support for himself and his bride, the father's control of the son's choice is minimal, and asking the father's approval is a matter of formality. In second and subsequent marriages, the approval of the older wives is essential. The older wives have no right to object to the husband taking an additional wife, but they have the right to object to the choice on the basis that the new bride is hard to get along with or that there is animosity between her family and the families of the other wives which makes

584 contrary, there is enough evidence to indicate that the father of the
686 bride by participating in smuggling should have known about that fact, or at least it would not have affected his decision had he known about it. The grounds for unreasonable or unfair behavior is therefore not present in the above case.

If, on the other hand, the condition is specified at the time of the contract which is proven later to be false, then the behavior is [585] considered as unreasonable. An example is the case of Mahdi, who, after reading the fatha to marry a woman from his tribe, was discovered to have had tuberculosis and was forced to forfeit the gifts and other expenses on the basis that he had had the illness for a long time and knew about it, but he deliberately concealed it when he asked to marry the girl. Not all concealed conditions are considered as an adequate basis for the breaking of the fatha. Only conditions are adequate which, had they been known at the time of the agreement, would have made the party's decisions different. One case involved a man who had concealed the fact that he had a wife in Alexandria when he asked to marry a tribal girl. Although the intention to conceal the fact was very evident, for this is the first question that the girl's father or her guardian asks the suitor, yet, breaking the fatha agreement by the girl's father when he discovered the previous marriage was considered as unfair and unreasonable since, had he known about the marriage, it would have made no difference in his decision. The go-betweens disagreed, however, on this. One of them thought that although the concealed condition is by itself not objectionable, yet, the mere act of concealment indicated a bad character on the part of the prospective groom, and that by itself, apart from the concealed condition, is not a good basis for marriage relations. The bride's father did not have to pay kabara, although he held

582 and although they are not considered wrong or sinful, there is a gen-
779 eral feeling of distaste among the tribal population to such marriages. They usually attribute this distaste to the fact that if the marriage with the first sister did not work out, there is no reason to expect the marriage with the second to be successful.* Although this might account, in part, for the low rate of cousin marriage in the group when present wives of the individuals are taken into consideration, yet, the effect of that practice should not be exaggerated. For although that prohibition might curb the marriage with the cousin who is the sister of a previous wife, it does not restrict the marriage with another cousin who is a cousin, rather than a sister of the first wife.

584 During the period that follows and until the marriage is final,
431 the groom is supposed to bring gifts to the bride. These gifts are usually a wide silver bracelet that is used as an engagement ring. Also gifts of clothes and jewelry are quite customary. Such gifts become the private property of the bride and are to be returned only if the engagement is broken for fault on the part of the bride or any member of her family. In such cases, her father has to return all the gifts his daughter has accepted as well as the expenses that the groom's visitations have cost him.

585 The marriage is affected and finalized by the payment of the bride-
583 wealth. In Islamic law the bridewealth is supposed to be paid to the
779 bride herself as a gift and not to her father, which had been a signifi-
431 cant departure from the pre-Islamic practice where two types of bride-wealth were paid: the sadaqa paid to the father of the bride or her

587 * This does not apply to cases where the first wife dies. In such cases, it is not objectionable to marry her sister, although the incidences of sororate are rare among the population.

585 legal guardian and considered a bride price to compensate the father or
583 the legal guardian of the bride. In earlier times the bride received
779 none of the mahr, although she usually got a sadaq or bridal gift for
431 herself. In Islamic Arabia, the mahr and the sadaq became indistin-
[78] guishable and were given to the woman and took the form of a legal gift
[71] for affecting the marriage. The Koraan no longer contains the concept
[78] of the purchase of the wife, and the mahr becomes a compensation which the woman has to claim in all cases. The Koraan demands a bridal gift for a legal marriage: "And give them whom ye have enjoyed their reward as a wedding gift" (Sura, iv. 24), and again, "And give the women their
[586] dowries voluntarily" (Sura, iv. 3). According to the Koraan, the mahr remains the property of the wife and remains her own even if the marriage is dissolved by divorce. But although it took the form of a gift, the mahr remained in Islamic law a prerequisite for the legalization of the marriage. It is only upon the giving of the mahr that the marriage is considered valid. No marriage is legal, according to the Islamic law, unless that transfer of the mahr is affected. Mutual consent of the two parties to forfeit the mahr does not change that rule, and the mar-
58 riage is considered void. According to Muslim jurisprudence, marriage
675 is a contract ('acd) made betweeen the bridegroom and the bride or her
184 wali or guardian. An essential element in that contract is the mahr. The jurists themselves are not sure about the nature of the mahr. Some regard it as practically a purchase money or as an equivalent ('iwad) for the possession of the woman and the rights over her, so it is like a price paid in a contract of sale; while other jurists see in the mahr a legal symbol, a mark of honor and a proper legal security of property for the woman.

584 583 husband or his father pays the woman's father the bridewealth, or mahr. In exchange for the mahr, the husband expects his father-in-law to outfit his daughter with such items as rugs, blankets, and a few other household items, like cooking pots, serving dishes, and a metal or wooden chest to keep her clothes in. These items become the private property of the wife, but the husband has the right to use them. In addition, the man expects to gain certain rights to the woman. The customary law of Awlad Ali gives the husband three basic rights over his wife: the right to her sexual services (including the right to bear him children); the right to her labor in domestic activities; and the right to her obedience. Of the three rights, the first is the most exclusive. Not only doesthe husband have a complete monopoly over his wife's present sexual services, but he also has the right, if the girl has never been married before, to be the first to use such services. If he discovers that she is not a virgin, he can send her back to her father and get back his mahr.

581 585 593 The other two rights are not as exclusive. The husband's right to his wife's domestic labor does not prevent her from occasionally helping out in her father's or brother's household, especially if they live nearby. Finally, the husband's right to be obeyed by his wife is always subordinated to that of her father, who retains the ultimate authority over his daughter.

582 683 581 585 593 If the woman is killed or injured, the husband is deprived of all or some of her services, depending on the seriousness and the permanence of the injury, and therefore is entitled to compensation. The right of avenging the woman's murder remains, however, that of her family, since she is still a member of that family.

581 Marriage does not deprive the woman of some rights of her own.
585 The customary law gives the wife three basic rights corresponding to
562 those of the husband's sexual services, domestic work, and obedience.
671 Corresponding to the first of these, the wife has the right to have a normal sexual life with her husband. This right, however, is not an exclusive one, since the husband can marry more than one wife. A woman
585 can be divorced from her husband without having to return the mahr if
586 she claims that the husband is unable to perform his sexual duties. In
593 such cases, the marriage is usually dissolved quietly. In certain rare instances, the husband may deny his wife's accusations. If both insist
585 on their stand, one or both may ask to be submitted to "bait el-shana'a,"
586 or house of the dreadful deeds. Reports are extremely vague about the
593 exact procedures involved in this case. Some informants stated that the
629 married couple would live in a tent without sidewalls so that everybody could see what goes on inside. Most informants, however, insist that it merely means that the couple move their tent near that of a respectable man whose word is believed and honored. This man is supposed to keep a close watch on the couple's activities, by listening or looking through holes in the tent. His verdict determines the future of the marriage.
[583] If the wife is justified in her claim, the husband is forced to divorce
[681] her and to forfeit his mahr. If, on the other hand, the verdict is for
[558] the husband, he not only can divorce her and get back the mahr, but is also entitled to kabara, or compensation, for his injured pride. There
[114] is no case of bait el-shana'a in the area during the time of the field
[178] work, and most people insist that this practice is something of the past
[583] when the mahr was relatively high and was paid in livestock, in which

case its return to the husband would have caused great financial inconvenience for the wife's family.

Corresponding to the second right, the husband's right to his wife's domestic work, is the wife's right to maintenance. The husband has to support his wife. This includes providing her and her children with adequate food and proper clothing. If the husband fails to do so because of poverty, sickness, crop failure or unexpected disaster, the wife's brother or father provides her and her children with the necessary food and clothing. If the husband's failure to fulfill his duties is due to neglect, the wife can leave him and go to her father or brother who talks the matter over with the husband who, in turn, either agrees to their demands or has to divorce his wife and forfeit his mahr.

Finally, corresponding to the husband's right to his wife's obedience is the wife's right to fair treatment by her husband. There are a number of ways in which the wife is mistreated. One is excessive punishment; although the right of the husband to punish his wife is provided in the Koraan, the punishment must be excessive or severe. Awlad Ali draw a line between acceptable and severe punishment. A punishment is severe if it results in something that other people can see or hear. If the husband insults his wife or her family and others hear the action, or if he beats her and this results in visible traces, then the punishment is severe.

A wife considers herself mistreated if the husband, when married to more than one, treats any of the other wives better than he treats her. Although the wife cannot deny her husband the right to have additional wives, he must give them all equal treatment. This includes

593 595 562 providing them with the same kind of food and clothing.* It also includes dividing his time equally between them, spending one night in each wife's tent. The first wife, being the chief one, has certain privileges: her tent is the guest house, food is brought to her residence, and she is the one to divide it among the other wives, and her house is the place for the husband to stay if he becomes sick and unable to move every night from one tent to another. Other than the exceptions given to the first wife, the husband has to treat all his wives equally.

593 (586) Normally, such cases of mistreatment do not result in divorce unless they are persistent. In most cases, if the wife is mistreated, she goes to her father's or brother's house or sends for them to come and take her. For the husband to bring her back to his tent, he must pay her "nasafa." This is a gift given by the husband to his wife as an acknowledgement of guilt and as a form of apology for not giving her fair treatment. In some cases the nasafa is equal to what the husband originally paid as mahr.

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581 585 626 These are some of the rights that marriage gives both men and women in the tribal society of Awlad Ali. These rights, however, are useless unless they are backed by certain means of enforcing them. The husband's rights are guaranteed by his ability to dissolve the marriage at will. According to Islamic law, a man can divorce his wife by simply pronouncing the sentence "I divorce you" in the presence of credible witnesses. No justification for divorce is demanded from the husband according to the Koraan. No such privilege is given to the wife. She can obtain a

586 626 593 (779) (562)

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* With provision for wives with more children.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

613 his maternal kinsmen to use the land and water facilities of
578 his lineage; his agnates may give ready consent or bicker about
602 it, but when it becomes necessary to clean a well, disputes are almost certain to break out in the camp between those who argue that their maternal relatives should not be expected to assist in its cleaning and those who insist they should as an acknowledgement of the use they have made of it. In these circumstances
613 maternal links divide agnates. Conversely, if it becomes neces-
602 sary for some of the same men to use the water and ploughland of their maternal kin, their agnates are only too pleased that they are able to do so, because the pressure on their own resources is relieved. In these circumstances, the maternal link strengthens the agnatic group. When, to give another instance,
613 blood-money has to be gathered, it is the duty of all agnates to
682 contribute equally, and no member of the group, rich or poor, can contract out of this obligation without sacrificing his membership of the group. Payments of blood-money are witness of the strength of the notion of 'oneness' among agnates, in one sense, but in so far as they are compulsory, they point also to the weakness in the relationship. Maternal kin are not directly concerned in this, but they can and do make contributions. In this context two aspects of agnation appear, and the value of the
602 maternal link is emphasized. Again, maternal kinsmen are not
428 directly concerned in inheritance disputes, but they are expected
578 to intercede for their sister's sons, who often use their mother's brother's tribal brand on their own animals. During disputes of this kind, blame is thrown on to the maternal kinsmen for their interference in matters which, properly speaking, are not their
613 business. In marriage, however, events take quite a different
582 turn. The responsibility for providing a man with a wife is first that of the father, and secondly of the members of the tertiary section; the father takes the initiative, and his agnates assist, not only in the negotiations, but also in defraying the heavy costs of the wedding festivities, the various gifts that precede it, and the
604 bride-wealth which follows. The mother's brother is also a key
613 person in all these arrangements. He enters into the negotiations,
585 assists with the entertainment on the wedding day, and makes a
[583] substantial contribution to the bride-wealth. On the wedding day, there is no kinsman to compare with the mother's brother; a few

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

weeks later, he is reviled for demanding a long overdue instalment of his daughter's bride-wealth. He is the person who can be approached freely, to whom love tales can be told, from whom help can be expected, who gives support in disputes, and who also upbraids, who punishes, who withholds, who acts as a pull-away from the agnatic group. An agnate demands help, and also compels the fulfilment of obligations. An agnate is a man with whom relationships are formal, particularly if he is a senior. He is, too, the person who unfailingly, though perhaps grudgingly, gives help when it is most required; who, regardless of the merits of the case, defends one against external opposition; and who is always available at each life crisis. A kinship link is not to be defined by any one particular mode of behaviour. Each is a cluster of different sorts of behaviour, one form taking precedence in these circumstances, another in other circumstances, and so forth.

The little clusters of kindred can be defined clearly in any of the camps. It is customary among the Bedouin for those who are most closely linked as kindred to pitch their tents close to each other. For example, if a man has two recently married sons, their tents are pitched on either side of his, with the ropes of their tents crossing the ropes of their father's tent. More distantly related kin will be more distantly placed, and here and there, breaks in the continuity of the lines of tents are to be observed, corresponding as a rule to breaks in kinship. Each large camp in this way can be viewed as two or more nuclei of kindred. The camp as a whole is dominantly composed of agnates, but they are disposed in such a way as to show clusterings of varying kinship composition. Characteristically each cluster has a separate name, often a female name which refers to a common mother of the cluster, or of the head of the leading family in it. When these relatively large camps break up with the onset of the rains and disperse to form small camps of five to seven tents for winter pasturing, they will be seen to correspond almost identically with the kin clusters of the larger summer camp. Again, a tertiary segment may have two wells for its own use. In a particular year there may be sufficient water in one of them to meet the needs of the whole group, and its members then live together in one camp; the following year both wells may have to be used, and the camp of the previous summer will split up, roughly half going

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

[121] is found in either a vengeance killing or a blood-money agreement which later becomes [613] caught up in a wider set of debt relationships. Records show that this is true in some [682] cases, but in others the blood money is paid in one instalment and immediately. The recognition of a debt and its liquidation among the Bedouin is tantamount to a declaration of hostility, since without a debt the means for smooth-running relationships is lacking. Such a blood-money payment was made between two tertiary groups in the absence of the 'owner of the blood'; when he returned he sought out his brother's killer, and took two lives for one. Subsequently, there was a further blood-money settlement but there remained 'a man left over'. In other circumstances an annual payment, called *sana'*, is demanded in addition to the prompt and full payment of the blood money. The attachment of the *sana'* to a settlement is an invidious condition since it is regarded as a fee by those who have to pay it, it is said to lower the status of a group and ' one day, it must be repudiated '.[1] It may, circumstances permitting, serve to cast off all pretence of friendly relationships. It is more likely that it will lead to a further outbreak of hostilities. When I witnessed the payment of the *sana'* the terms in which it was demanded were: ' You have a man on your backs. Are you going to repudiate this or are you going to give me *sana'*? If you repudiate, we must seek vengeance.' The payment, one in a long series, was made on that occasion but there were loud grumblings among the men of the camp against their leader for his acquiescence and one suggested that they terminate the payments forthwith by shooting the claimant. Of the three forms of blood money cited, this latter is the extreme to which groups can go short of open feud. Its opposite is a blood-money payment which is mainly left as a debt, and which is accompanied by the ' gift ' of a wife to the victim's group.[2] The wife is ' given ' as an earnest that the offender's group wishes the full restoration of relationships ruptured by the homicide. There are, therefore, four forms of blood-money payment. The Bedouin view of these is that they are variants of what is, in principle, the same thing. Their view cannot be accepted. Each of the four payments points to diverse kinds of social relationships between groups, and their consequences are wholly disparate. These various kinds of relationships between the tertiary sections of the same secondary section exist because the relationships between all sections cannot possibly be the same if they are more than a pair in number. A secondary section which spans ten tertiary sections is not the same type of unit as one which spans only three. The greater the number of tertiary sections the greater the possible permutations in their relationships. What the Bedouin think of as variations in the form of blood-money [829] payment is related to the complexities that lie behind their simple lineage model. Bedouin can comprehend this complexity only by thinking in terms of a kind of average behaviour, regarding deviations from the average as fortuitous and explicable by the faulty reasoning that ' in this particular case, it just so happened ' that this, that, and the other were part of the situation, failing to appreciate that apparent aberrations are constants to the extent that some sort of specifics occur in all cases. There is no reason why Bedouin reasoning should be followed in sociological analysis.

[1] See Peters, 1966.

[581] [2] A marriage is not legal unless at least a promise
[585] to hand over wealth has been made beforehand. In the case cited the amount promised would be no more than a token—a sheep or a goat.

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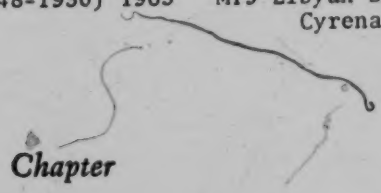

Chapter

7

*Aspects of the Family Among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica**

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Marriage and the Father-Son Relationship

When a marriage takes place among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica, a nuptial tent is set up some distance away from that of the groom's father. There is no particular significance about the nuptial tent itself, but it must be pitched at a distance so that the father "will not see it" — although, obviously, in a country of large level plains, it stands out conspicuously. This pretence that the tent remains unseen by the father is pushed to the point of his denying any knowledge of what is afoot. A middle-aged or elderly man with a family adopts a similar attitude to any marriage in which his son participates, as groom or as guest. An elder, the father of three unmarried sons (one of whom, in his late twenties, was known to be getting impatient about marriage), when I asked after his eldest son, insisted that he was away with the camels, although the son was conspicuous in a semicircle of young men encouraging a blindfolded maiden in the movements of her seductive dance outside a wedding tent in his full view. Prior to the wedding festivities, the

* I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. R. Werbner for reading this essay in manuscript.
The information presented is based on 27 months fieldwork carried out during 1948 to 1950, among the Cyrenaica Bedouin. I am indebted to the Trustees of the Horniman Studentship Fund, and the Committee for Treasury Studentships in Oriental Languages and Cultures, for making the research financially possible.

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584 Prior to the wedding festivities, the
593 father will have participated in negotiations, although even in these he will have remained silent, leaving an affine, as a rule, to arrange the details with the girl's father and his kinsmen. The father feigns aloofness from the start of negotiations until after the wedding celebrations have ended. Before inquiring into this seemingly odd behaviour, a few further details of marriage ceremonies need to be mentioned briefly.

•585 342 [492] The bride is carried to the nuptial tent on a camel, seated in a cagelike structure placed on the camel's back, this canopy covered over with carpets and at least one long blanket — later to be used to divide her tent into male and female quarters — which constitute part of the goods given to a woman [788] on marriage. On her arrival, while she is still seated in her canopy, the camel is led round the tent seven times by a small boy. She then descends and is hustled into the tent by a number of women who make a show of their attempts to conceal her from view. Inside the tent the bride is enclosed in one corner in a kind of cubicle partitioned off by a length of blanket.

585 [533] [831] In the meantime, the groom has affected to escape, but is "caught," while running away, by his fellows, who "compel" him to return to the nuptial tent, to the accompaniment of their lewd songs telling of the sexual pleasures awaiting him. Much of this is horseplay, but the young men carry it out brazenly and the groom is required to show reluctance to continue with the ceremonies. His entry into the nuptial tent is marked by an expectant hush that falls over the crowd of men gathered, as they await the result of the virginity test the groom is about to perform, which he does by wrapping part of his toga round one of his fingers to pierce the hymen. Sharp shrieks from [202] the bride give the signal that the test has been undertaken; not a stir moves the crowd until evidence of its success has been publicly displayed, which is given by the groom hoisting the blood-stained portion of the toga through the corner of the tent on a pole, followed by firing three shots from his rifle. Jubilantly, the men gathered fire volley after volley from their rifles just over the nuptial tent, and the seven-day celebrations begin.

585 589 [593] [561] A full descriptive account of a marriage, or many of the ritual details woven into it need not be given here. What is included is intended to illustrate certain relationships between father and son, and between one generation and another. In this connection two further points are appropriate. First, during the week of festival, young men gather outside the nuptial [535] tent each night to encourage a maiden in her dancing, clapping their hands to the point of injury "so that we will have a wife soon." The celebrations [533] belong to the bachelors, and they are the only ones to engage in the singing and hand clapping. It is they too who stop the bridal camel on its way to [538] the nuptial tent to recite obscene rhymes to the bride, and they also shout [831] their rather dubious consolations to the bride who, during the virginity test, crying out for her mother, is assured by them that the night holds promise for her which her mother could never extend. The married men, particularly 585 602 521 the close senior agnates of the groom, stay away from it all, discussing matters unconnected with the affair.

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Second, the fiction that nothing has happened, which characterises the father's behavior, does not cease with the termination of the celebrations. Each morning, soon after daybreak and before the camp is astir, the groom must leave his bride and repair to his father's tent to lie at his father's side "as he always had done in the past, as if he had not left him." This conventional ruse is followed, not just for the seven days of wedding festivities, but is continued after the groom has moved back into the camp proper, and pitched his tent alongside his father's, with the ropes of the two tents crossing.

In matters other than sleeping arrangements, this fiction that "nothing has happened" is maintained. Marriage does not mean the immediate creation of a wholly separate domestic unit. Save for the appearance of an additional tent, the ordinary run of daytime activities is scarcely altered. To mention perhaps the most important feature of the relationships between father and son, the groom continues to eat with his father. As yet, the son does not use his own bowl,[1] and may not, indeed, do so for several years. The important symbolism of "eating together" or "eating out of the one bowl," the act of commensality creating a bond of fellowship about which Robertson Smith[2] wrote so eloquently can only be referred to here in one of its many aspects. Bedouin themselves stress that eating together is a strong bond, and the communal meal is always used for this purpose after the settlement of a dispute, or at the conclusion of a blood-money agreement, and so on. It is significant also in the sense that those who partake of a meal accept the authority of the host; he becomes their protector, and a blow against one of them is struck at him also. Even if the guest is an enemy,[3] as long as he has eaten from another's bowl his life is safe.

The slaughter of an animal for another person creates a bond which has its roots in the intimate connection between man and his animals. In a very vivid way, the Bedouin view their animals as part of themselves, as part of their *Risiq*, their general wealth, in which their sons are included. It is this mystical association between a man and his animals which distinguishes a meal consisting of the meat of an animal slaughtered from ones' own flock or herd from a meal consisting of meat bought from a butcher's shop — often given by the plateau peoples of Northern Cyrenaica to their guests, but which the camel-herding Bedouin of the south regard as despicable hospitality. A slaughtered animal is the food, *par excellence*, which establishes this bond

[1] When Bedouin take their meals, they eat from large wooden bowls imported from south of the Sahara. It is a matter of custom that a man does not eat alone unless it is unavoidable, a custom of such strength, that, when, one day, only an elder, occupying a tent the ropes of which were crossed with mine, was left in camp, he brought his bowl into my tent "so that I will be eating with a man."

[2] William Robertson Smith. *The Religion of the Semites*. 3rd ed. London: Macmillan, 1927.

[3] A stranger entering a camp is under no obligation to give his identity. Few do so until they have partaken of a meal. In the past, the Bedouin claim, the period of anonymity could last for 40 days, but nowadays, they say they limit it to two only. I have known strangers enter a camp, receive entertainment, and leave without offering any specific identity.

571 231 264 182 593 585 182 [425] [556]

between man and man, although the various cereal dishes which constitute their regular meals are said to have a similar effect.

The son who continues to eat with his father "as he always had been doing," also continues to accept his authority. Indeed he could do little else at this stage, for he lacks the economic means to cut away. Neither at marriage nor after is there any transfer of wealth from father to son. The new tent recently pitched is no more than a dormitory to which the young couple retire at night. During the daytime the son is still to be seen in his father's tent, and, in the male quarters, things appear to be much the same as before. In the female quarters, the only superficial change is the more frequent appearance among the women of one who, before marriage, often sat among them if she had been a close neighbour or a close cousin previously; or of an additional helper if she had come from afar. On the surface things remain "as they always have been," although in fact, a whole set of changes have been initiated.

852 881 764 858 789 857 233 883 233 [431] [411] [484] [885] 852 88 796 [971] [554]

Rites de passage are few among the Bedouin. A man's progress in life is ceremonially marked by only four events: his birth, circumcision, marriage and burial. His development into manhood is not marked by clearly defined stages. About the age of seven, the henna markings on the front of a boy's shirt for protection from the evil eye are not renewed, the cowrie shell stitched to the front of his cap as a kind of talisman against the evil eye is removed and he is no longer permitted free access to the women's quarters. As he grows older, he will be instructed in goat-herding, and later taught to follow the sheep. In his late teens he will have to undertake the more arduous and responsible task of herding the camels. Coincident with camel-herding, he may be given a gun by his father. Shortly afterwards he must undertake the stringent test of manhood, a journey to a distant oasis for dates. These changes are not marked off by a *rite de passage*. The rites a man undergoes during the course of a lifetime are minimal, and in the sense that they are concerned with only the basic events in a man's life anywhere (save for circumcision, which is a minor celebration anyway), they are irreducible. Moreover, the rituals which exist do not comprehend the same multiplicity of relationships as rituals which occur in many other African societies.[4] It is true that the ceremonies referred to in this chapter by no means include all the Bedouin rituals. It is also true that the events mentioned vary in elaboration, and in the number of symbols present in them, but they are not multiplied or reduced for different people.

[613] [554] [602]

In this context it is important to stress that we are here dealing with a lineage society where social differentiation is not built up into differences of rank, where the roles to which a man succeeds are almost wholly captured by his kinship relationships with other men and which are sociologically to be distinguished from the roles a man enters into by acquisition of office,

[4] See, for example, the elaboration of rituals discussed in M. Gluckman (Ed.), *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1962.

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membership of associations and so on. The statuses a Bedouin achieves depend not on an ordered acquisition through the inheritance of roles or election to them, but on his personal manipulation of linkages in his jockeying with others. Rites are minimal because there are few defined statuses an individual can predictably acquire. The equalitarianism of the desert denudes the Bedouin of ritual riches. Complimentarily, rites which do occur are thrown into exaggerated relief by the absence of others, and in their isolation, become not merely a "passage" but a cataclysmic change. Marriage and burial both comprehend limited fields of relations, but accompanying ceremonies may bring several hundred people together, people who otherwise rarely gather in these numbers to meet one another as kinsmen and neighbours, and it is suggested that the emphasis given to the events dramatises the significance of the changes they produce. In the discussion of the changes brought about by marriage, the Bedouin view of what is entailed will be considered first.

The Bedouin View of Marriage

After marriage, the Bedouin argue, a son has a tent of his own, a woman over whom he has authority and soon children to make him a father. Marriage causes split, branching. A new family is created, holding the potential of a new lineage. The separation is so painful a matter for the father that he cannot contemplate it, hence his pretence that he has no knowledge of wedding festivities, and his subsequent attitude that nothing has happened.

Interestingly, there are two other occasions when this attitude is to be observed. When a man kills within his corporate group,[5] he may flee his tribe or he may be compelled to leave; later he is likely to return and, when he does, he is received with a minimum of show. Every attempt is made to suppress knowledge of the event.

Again, if incest occurs, the memory of it must somehow be suppressed, and it is an ever-present danger. Men, permitted four wives simultaneously and also able to engage in a plurality of marriages through divorce or death of spouses, may have children showing an age difference of two or three generations. Thus it comes about that a man may be of an age in relation to his father's sister which permits them as children to behave as if they were first paternal cousins. As an adult, the preferred spouse for a man is a father's brother's daughter. In terms of relationships between adolescents the situation in which a man is of the same age generation as his father's sister is fraught with danger. In one such case, between a man and his father's sister, the male child of the union was put out in the desert to be

[5] Bedouin are disposed in groups which, in summer, usually constitute a single community, around or near a watering point. The men of this group are interlinked by reference to an ancestor four or five ascending generations, reckoning from the generation of men of about 20 years. When, elsewhere in this chapter reference is made to corporations, it will be to groups of this kind.

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835 561 684 devoured by wild animals, the girl was "given"* to a close cousin who had shot his sister. Both now reside with an enemy tribal section. The two acts were equated. They were similar to the extent that both created a situation which defied institutional resolution. The culprits were exorcised. The girl's lover remains with his group — the odium for the male is incomparably less than for the female, since, while maternity is easy to establish, paternity is frequently shrouded in doubt — and during the months I lived with this particular group, there was never a mention of the affair. It was as if "nothing had happened."

829 578 613 [682] [684] If asked why these two events cause such profound distress, the answers the Bedouin give are twofold: they can do nothing about them, and they cause split. By split in this context they mean split in the lineage; split in the case of homicide because it may lead to a demand for blood-money which is payable only between corporations, and split in the case of incest because it causes chaos in relationships. Marriage, in one sense, their reasoning runs, is similar, for it too causes split. Whatever may be the analytic strength of the arguments that homicide and incest precipitate splitting, the argument that marriage does so is spurious. In what sense can marriage mean split? Bedouin men marry "so that we may beget many sons, to make a big lineage later on." The worst fate that can befall a man as a result of his son's marriage is that he, in later generations, will become the focal point in a series of branching descent lines. The alternative — that his sons remain unmarried — can only mean that his name would disappear through want of successors to carry it on, which is one of the greatest evils which can befall a man, according to Bedouin sentiment: better split than oblivion. If the key to the interpretation of the father's attitude to his son's marriage is not that it causes split, it must lie elsewhere in their relationship. What marriage does is alter the distribution of authority between father and son. In order to pursue this, it is necessary first to clarify the types of authority involved, and then assess them in a post-marital situation.

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The Division of Authority Between the Family and the Corporation

554 851 Politically, a person's status is determined for him at birth. At this time a man has the right to accept or deny paternity. Denial is tantamount to an accusation of adultery by his wife. In practice, once a wife has given birth to a male child, whatever doubts people may harbour regarding paternity, the husband accepts the child as his. "The boy for the bed," is a saying often heard among the Bedouin; but it remains the husband's prerogative to invest the child with legitimacy, hence, political status. Only if a husband becomes [837] aware that he is publicly considered a cuckold, or if he catches his wife and a lover *in flagrante delicto*, is he at all likely to take action. Otherwise he may

[585] [581] *A marriage is illegal unless it is accompanied by an agreement to transfer wealth to the girl's father.

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her father takes, but in certain critical situations he can be relieved of choice if the interests of the group as a whole are at stake.

Political authority is the preserve of a corporation, and its exercise leads to invasion of a man's authority in the field of domestic relations. This does not mean, however, that discrete areas of authority do not remain with the father. In the tent his authority over his son is so overwhelming as to keep the son in almost complete subordination. The son is referred to as a slave, and in daily life he has to behave as one. He must obey every command, for, were he to rebel, he would find little or no support among his agnates, whatever the extent of the provocation. Retreat from his father is hardly an alternative, since, while his father is alive, he has no animals of his own, and to leave camp would only mean that he would have to move outside his group to seek employment elsewhere as a shepherd. If he did this he would forfeit status, and almost certainly cut himself off from property which would fall to him after his father's death. A man who "denies" his father looses too many privileges for the practice to become widespread.

Caught in this dilemma, a son's predicament is worsened by the fact that he cannot initiate marriage negotiations — to be able to do so requires some animals to offer a girl's father. Through his mother's brother he has the means of bringing pressure to bear on his father, but the latter can resist for years. Finally, a marriage is arranged for him. It is difficult to convey the yearning of young Bedouin for marriage. They discuss it among themselves *ad nauseam*. For the most part their talk is about the sexual aspect of marriage. Premarital sex relations are strictly controlled, and the movements of each young girl are carefully guarded because, if on the day of her marriage the test shows that she is not a virgin, she not only brings disgrace to her family, but the marriage may be revoked and her worth as a bride for another man seriously diminished. Nevertheless premarital relations do occur, if not between youths and maidens to any extent, between young men and married women.

The question still remains: why is marriage the occasion of such ebullient celebration? The formal authority a father exercises over his son changes little on marriage. Economically the son is still harnessed to the father. The latter still shouts his orders at him, and obedience remains unaltered. Any sign of an independent view on a matter is met with a gruff rebuff. If the marriage turns out to be disagreeable to the father, he has the authority — if not always the power — to break it. Marriage does not mean a change in the general mode of behaviour between the two; the legal relations remain unaltered, albeit modified in practice, as the married son matures in age. But marriage does mean the acquisition of rights and status previously denied a son. Henceforward, he has a domain of his own. This is high drama, indeed, for although every effort is made to give substance to the expressed view that "nothing has happened," for the first time in his life the son has seized publicly, amid the jubilations of his fellows, a status which hitherto was the possession of the father.

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The Meaning of Marriage

581 Until marriage the changes in a man's life have been in the nature of
585 an ordered sequence of development from a child to be cared for — the only
342 time in his life when a father, without inhibition, showers on him his love
[593] and affection — to one who, by degrees, makes an increasing contribution to a production unit. Marriage necessitates that a man pitch a tent for himself. With a tent he becomes a potential host and protector of others. The local idiom for marriage is "to set up a tent." It would be quite improper to use
[196] the verb "to marry" when inquiring whether a marriage has taken place
[195] since this verb also has the meaning of "to have sexual intercourse." Instead the euphemism, "Have you pitched a tent?" is used. The Arabic word for a tent in this context is *Bait*. It is not used to refer to a military tent, nor to the small tent which shelters only a widow. It is reserved for the Bedouin tent, which usually has a wool top, and, most importantly, holds the promise of the continuation of life, whether it shelters a newly married couple, a mature family or young unmarried people. (The word *Bait* represents a complex concept, and it would be too much of a diversion here to discuss the various points of its significance. It is essential to understand that its
[118] meaning is not confined to a tent in the physical sense.) Its top has *Baraka* (divine goodness) in it; the quality of *Haram*, which makes it possible for the tent to be used as a sanctuary, is associated with it and this quality of *Haram* extends, moreover, to the ropes of the tent, so that anyone who clutches them comes under the protection of the owner. In it, the wife must permanently reside and her husband has the legal right to insist on this. In it too, he has the legal right of sexual access to a woman, his wife. Any children
[885] born in it he can claim as his own. With the erection of a tent the son reaches adulthood, and it is in this sense that he can be said to have acquired a domain of his own.

581 Marriage gives a son greater freedom and less dependence on his father
585 in another sense. A second euphemism used for marriage is "making a
[593] relationship," specifically an affinal one. Relationships between a man and
[195] his father-in-law are diverse and are used in various ways in different situations. Here, the particular aspect which needs to be stressed is that a man
606 can cajole his father-in-law, and (through his wife) wealth, in the form
425 of animals, may pass from the former to the latter. Reciprocal gifts are passed
556 between affines on certain occasions, but in addition small amounts may pass which are not connected with the formal occasions of exchanges. Debt
583 lies between them. It begins with the initiation of marriage negotiations,
584 when the suitor's kinsmen take a prescribed number of sheep to present to
606 the girl's father if negotiations are successful. They promise to transfer bride-wealth[9] to the girl's father. A few weeks after the marriage, the hus-

[171] [9] I use the word "bride-wealth" because it has become so familiar in the literature, but the only similarity between the *Sahiba* of the Bedouin and the bride-wealth of

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band is required to take gifts to his mother-in-law in recognition of the fact that she nourished his wife as an infant (the literal meaning of the word used for this gift is "milk"). A return visit is made and gifts are given to the daughter. When the first child is born an animal is presented by the affines, and if the child is a male, the gift may be several sheep, or even a few camels if the father-in-law is very wealthy. Formal exchange of gifts continue, but, in addition, informal transfers are made. Moreover, if relations between a man and his father-in-law develop favourably, it is not uncommon for a young husband, during the early years of marriage, to move away from his father and pitch his tent alongside that of his father-in-law. Marriage gives a son affinal relations of his own. Affinity can alleviate the dead weight of paternal authority.

It is suggested that the crisis the marriage of a son assumes for a father is the shift it entails in the distribution of authority. This is borne out by other details in the marriage ceremony referred to earlier. Ordinarily, young men dare not sing within earshot of their senior agnates. Far from allowing obscenities, agnates of the ascending generation would not allow even a mention of women to be made by young men, in their presence. In a group consisting of young men and an agnate, I chanced to use the noun for woman and immediately my tent was cleared of all but the senior agnate. At a wedding the young men revel in their lewd songs and shout their obscenities for all to hear. The senior agnates stand aside and make a show of ignoring the proceedings. And well they may, for each marriage is a challenge to the exclusive authority they have enjoyed; each nuptial tent is an invasion of the domain of which they have been undisputed masters. Marriage is the only occasion when the men of one generation can clap and sing their defiance of an older one, and give warning of the changes which must be accommodated however great the pretence that nothing has happened.

Marriage ceremonies dramatise the clash between adjacent generations over the distribution of certain forms of authority. If this authority is as overwhelming as has been suggested, and if it is so deeply resented, how is it that life is endurable for juniors? Relationships between junior and senior agnates are so restrictive that they almost amount to what Professor Fortes has suggested I view as a form of avoidance relationships. Juniors must always defer, they must obey commands promptly, they serve their seniors, they must accept a lead when it is given and the restrictions on conversations exclude all reference to women, marriage or sex. These are not simply a set of general guides for behaviour, they are rigidly applied rules, deviation from which is countered with rebuke or greater severity. It would appear from this

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many African societies is that wealth is transferred. Obviously, in societies where the rules of exogamy compel a dispersion of links outside a man's own clan, what is involved in this transfer of wealth cannot be sociologically similar to one in which marriage to the first cousin on either side is permitted.

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561 602 that young men spend their premarital lives in an environment of unmitigated agnatic hostility. Greater substance is given to this view when it is realised that agnates live together. The residential concentration of agnates 561 in Cyrenaica exceeds 80 per cent. I wish to stress that this figure is based 602 on the universe of the small camp, and the only males included as agnates are 621 those who are consanguinely related. Over 50 such camps were used in arriving at the figure. Obviously, the figure of agnatic concentration will vary depending on the universe. If all men who claim to belong to a tribe of, say, 15,000 souls, who claim that they are agnates in a political sense are included, then the figure will not be the same as that derived from a small group where the criterion for inclusion is consanguinity, not mere political affiliation. It is necessary to make this clear to emphasise that the Cyrenaican figure is unusually high, and also because the modes of behaviour between consanguineal and political agnates differ critically. Granted the hostility [578] built into agnation, and recognising in addition the significance of the high degree of agnatic concentration, unless there are other factors present in the situation, life would be intolerably burdensome. Parallel-cousin marriage comes to the rescue.

Parallel-Cousin Marriage

582 Among the Bedouin the prohibited degrees of marriage are few. A man may not marry within a closer range than first paternal or maternal cousin; he cannot marry a woman of a senior generation, nor a woman known to be older. He cannot marry the daughters of a woman who has acted as wet nurse to him or to any of his brothers and sisters. Otherwise he is permitted to marry any other woman. Marriage with the first paternal cousin is pre- 582 ferred, and is more than a sentiment. A man has a right to his father's •585 brother's daughter, and before a marriage is arranged with anyone else, the 578 girl's father seeks the opinion of his brother's son. If he neglects to do this, or if he flouts the opinion offered him, he runs the risk of the marriage being brought to a halt on the very wedding day. I have witnessed this. In most of the records I possess, it usually happens that the brother's son is bought off with a few sheep (about five) and some articles of clothing. Here the brother's son was seizing the occasion to extort from a farmer's brother wealth which he considered was due him from an earlier inheritance [589] dispute. Occasionally the intervention is genuinely designed to prevent a marriage; if the girl refuses to marry her father's brother's son, he can force 582 her into spinsterhood. Men exercise their right to marry their first parallel cousins. They also marry other parallel cousins. The significance of parallel-cousin marriage varies with the exact degree of the relationship. First- and, say, third-parallel cousins are sociologically different in a number of respects, and in relation to specific problems these differences may assume major [602] importance. In the present discussion the various degrees have this in common: that whatever the precise relationship, all parallel cousins are the